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WASHINGTON IN THE FORBES EXPEDITION OF 1758

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BY

JOSEPH MEREDITH TONER, M. D.

[Read before the Society March 2, 1896]

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The example of love of country, strict integrity, high aims, industry, perseverance, and stability of purpose, with the maxims of conduct and other good suggestions left us as an inheritance by the Father of our Country, like the blessings of Providence, seem to be inexhaustible. Almost every month some letter, document, or opinion of his is discovered or printed for the first time, notwithstanding the zeal and energy of the organized associations of loyal men and women throughout the United States, including an army of writers, who have been for many years engaged in bringing to public notice interesting events and occurrences in the life, labor, and writings of George Washington. The number of valuable unpublished letters of Washington which are still being discovered is surprisingly numerous and their contents are read with undiminished interest. Judging from the past, we may hope that the future will be fruitful in bringing to light many more productions of this marvelous letter-writer—productions which have hitherto remained in seclusion and which must remain an enduring benediction to the people and of special value in illustrating the history and the rise of our Republic.

We here present in facsimile the draft of a notably important letter and two plans for marching an army through a wooded country. These plans were devised and written by Colonel George Washington at the solicitation of General John Forbes in 1758. General Forbes was then in command of an expedition against Fort Du Quesne, and it would seem had requested all his colonels to favor him with plans and suggestions on this subject. Responses to this request from his other officers were doubtless made, but Washington's is the only one of whose existence we have knowledge, and it has been preserved through his habit of keeping drafts of his more important letters. The original, forwarded to General Forbes, was doubtless written and drawn with greater care, but is probably lost. The transmitted draft of this letter was and probably still is in the office of the Chief Engineer of the United States Army, as General Charles Gratiot certified that it was before him and that he had compared with it the lithographic copy, whose accuracy he endorsed.

The first draft of the letter is written on the inside of a double folio sheet of paper, the letter proper occupying the left hand and the plans of march the right hand page. Across the middle of the sheet when closed is the following endorsement, also in Washington's handwriting:

To Gen^{l}. Forbes—Commanding His Majesty's Forces Employed on the Ohio Expedition.

Sir: In consequence of your request of the Colonels assembled at your lodgings the 5 Inst I offer the plans on this other side to y^{r} consideration—They express my thoughts on a line of march through a country covered with woods & how that line of march may be formed in an Instant into an Order of Battle.

The first plan suggested by Colonel Washington was in the main adopted by General Forbes and followed as the order of march from Loyal Hannon, now Ligonier, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, to Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg.

The Plan of y^{e} Line of March and Order of Battle on the other side is calculated for a Forced March with field pieces only unincumber'd with

Waggon's,—It Represents; first a Line of March and Secondly how that line of March may in an Instant, be thrown into an Order of Battle in the Woods;

This Plan supposes 4000 Privates, 1000 of which—(Picked Men) are to march in Front, in three Division's,—each Division havᵉ. yᵉ field officer to Leadinᵍ it besides the Commander of the whole and is to be in readiness *always* to oppose the Enemy whose Attack, if the necessary precautions are observed, must always be in front.

The First Division must, as the 2 & 3 ought likewise to be subdivided for yᵉ Captain's; these subdivisions to be again divided for the Subalterns and yᵉ. Subalterns again for the Sergeants & Corporals by which meens every non Commission'd Officer will have a Party to Command under the Eye of a Subaltern as the Subalterns will have under the direction of a Captain &cᵃ.—

N B. I shall, tho I believe it is unnecessary, remark here,—that the Captain's when *their* sub Divisions are again divided are to take commnd. of no *particular* part of it but to attend to the whole subdivision—as the subalterns are to do—with theirs, each Captain a Subaltern acting as Commandant of the Division he is appointed to under the field officers visiting & encouraging all parts equally alike & keepᵍ. yᵉ Soldʳˢ to yʳ. Duty.

This being done the first Division is so soon as the Vangᵈ. is attack'd (if that gives the first notice of yᵉ Enemies approach) to file of to the Right & left and take to Trees,—gaining the enemies flanks and surrounding of them as describ'd in Plan the 2 —The Flank Guards on the Right which belong to yᵉ 2nd Division are immediately to extend to the Right follow'd by that Division and to form as described in the aforesaid plan—The Rear Grand Division is to follow the left Flankers in the same manner, in order if possible to Encompass the Enemy, which being a practice different from any thing they have ever yet experienc'd from Us, I think may be accomplish'd—

What Indians we have shou'd be Order'd to get round unperceived & fall upon the Enemys Rear at the same time.

The Front & Rear being thus Secur'd, their remains a body of 2500 Men to form two Brigades—on the Flanks of wᶜʰ 600 Men must March for safety of them, in such Order as to Form a Rank entire by only Marching yᵉ Captᵘˢ. & Subaltʳᵐˢ. Guard into yᵉ Intervals between yᵉ Sergeants Parties as may be seen by yᵉ 2 Plan.—

The main body will now be reduc'd to 1900 Men—which shᵈ be kept as a Corps de-reserve to support any part that shall be fᵈ. wᵏ. or foreˈd

The whole is Submitted to Correction with the utmost Candour by Sir yʳ most Obedᵗ & most Hᵇˡᵉ Serᵗ.

Gº. Washington.

Another precious document among the Washington papers in the Department of State has recently been brought to the

author's attention. It is in the nature of an orderly book, kept by Colonel Washington in the Forbes expedition. It opens at Raes Town, now Bedford, Pa., September 21, 1758. Into this book Washington copied all the orders of the general commanding, giving the camps pitched at variable distances, with the daily assignments of officers and men to duty at Bedford, in the march from Bedford to Ligonier, and from the latter place to Pittsburg. The camps were selected from convenience as to distance, water, grass for cattle, a good outlook, to avoid surprises, etc. The record was presumably made from the daily orderly book of the general commanding, whether Bouquet or Forbes. Whether General Forbes's orderly book of the expedition is still extant, and, if so, where it is, is unknown to the writer. Washington during the French and Indian hostilities was not only an active participant, but also a diligent student of the art of war, and felicitated himself upon the opportunity of serving under an officer of General Forbes's ability. This doubtless led him to perform the labor of copying these orders in the Forbes expedition, so as thoroughly to familiarize himself with all the details of management by a commanding general of recognized ability. An excerpt will be made from the orderly book further on, as it is believed an account of the Forbes expedition, which drove the French from the forks of the Ohio and from the possession of the Mississippi valley, will prove of interest.

Colonel Washington had taken the pains, while acting as aid to General Braddock in his ill-fated expedition, to copy into a book all of that general's orders on the march from Alexandria prior to the defeat of his army on the banks of the Monongahela on the 9th of July, 1755. This kind of study was characteristic of Washington. On his trip to Barbadoes, 1751, he copied the ship's log book and familiarized himself with taking observations at sea. He aimed to be thoroughly well informed upon every subject which engaged his attention or in whatever enterprise he was employed; hence the copies of those orderly books. The last is preserved in the Library of Congress, the former in the Department of

State. It is difficult for people of this day, accustomed to travel in a few hours across the Alleghany mountains by rail in palace cars, to conceive what a barrier to the passage of an army these mountains presented in 1755 and 1758, covered, as they then were, with forests and before wagon roads had been made across them. Up to the time when "the Ohio Company," in which two of George Washington's brothers were partners, improved the buffalo trail and Indian path in 1751–'52 to enable pack-horses to pass with their loads, no attempt had been anywhere made to open a road from the East over the Appalachian range of mountains to the headwaters of the Ohio. In the spring of 1754 the pack-horse road of the Ohio Company was further improved to permit the passage of light artillery or swivel guns. These were drawn by hand and were used by the armed military expedition under the actual command of Colonel George Washington. The troops had been ordered out by Governor Dinwiddie to build forts at the forks of the Ohio, now Pittsburg, to prevent the French from occupying that locality. Colonel Joshua Fry, who had been appointed to command the expedition, died at Fort Cumberland en route and before he had assumed direction in the field. After his death the command fell upon Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, who was at once promoted to the rank of colonel. He was then in the field with 300 men and had opened a road nearly to the Monongahela, when he was apprised by his Indian scouts that a vastly superior force of French and Indians had left Fort Du Quesne and were marching against him. After a council of war with his officers, it was judged prudent to retreat to Will's Creek, in hopes that he might meet reinforcements and supplies and be able to make a stand against even the superior force of the enemy. Although Colonel Washington had been reinforced a few days before by an independent company of 100 men under Captain James Mackaye from South Carolina, he was still in expectation of the arrival of two other independent companies from New York that two weeks before had landed at Alexandria; but they

did not arrive even at Will's Creek until after Colonel Washington was compelled to make a stand at Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by a force of French and Indians four times that of his own. The engagement began early in the day and lasted for eight hours, when a call was made by the French for a parley, which he deemed it prudent to grant, and a capitulation was entered into. The terms agreed upon enabled him to return with his men to the settled parts of Virginia.

One of the great needs in the early days in all the provinces was that of good wagon roads. The lack of these was a hindrance which retarded the growth of every new settlement. General Braddock was confronted with this necessity when he attempted to march his army to the head of the Ohio. He had no alternative but to make a road, and after great labor and expense the General's engineers and soldiers improved the old pack-horse road at some places and at others opened a new one from Will's Creek, now Cumberland, to Braddock's Fields, on the Monongahela. General Braddock, by urgent representations, induced the governor and Assembly of Pennsylvania to order the opening of another road for supplies and for retreat, if necessary, to pass from Carlisle and Shippensburg through Raes Town to Turkey Foot, on the Youghiogheny, and from thence to Fort Du Quesne, and to have it in a good state of forwardness before he could consider it prudent to advance his army from Fort Cumberland. Work had progressed upon this nearly parallel road, under the supervision of Colonel James Burd, as far as the top of the Alleghany mountains, and the remainder of the road was marked out to follow in the main a branch of the Youghiogheny river when Braddock's defeat occurred; but the work on the road was there and then abandoned. There were at this time no settlements about the head of the Ohio in which either of the provinces of Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania were especially interested or which required the use of a wagon road to the seaboard.

In 1758, when General Forbes began the organization of

his expedition against Fort Du Quesne, with his headquarters at Philadelphia, the question of roads and the line by which he should march his army presented itself as a most important one. The road opened by Colonel James Burd, in 1755, as far as Raes Town, and indeed the top of the Alleghany mountains, was serviceable. General Forbes's quartermaster general, Sir John St. Clair, on whom he had to rely for supplies and who had served in the same capacity with General Braddock, was personally acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered upon any road crossing the mountains. He, with Colonel Bouquet, was General Forbes's adviser.

Unaccountable delay attended the beginning of the advance of the Forbes army.

By great assiduity, on Friday, 30th of June, the General got the last division of his forces out of Philadelphia. Forbes himself set out the same day for Carlisle, where he arrived July 4th.*

Estimates of the strength of General Forbes's army vary. A summary of the forces in the expedition is given as follows in Mante's "History of the late war in North America," page 155:

Royal Americans	350
Montgomery's Highlanders	200
Virginia Provincials	1,600
Pennsylvania Provincials and Lower Counties	2,700
Maryland	350
Wagoners, &c	1,000
Total	7,200

A part of General Forbes's troops, under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet,† had already been advanced to Car-

*See letter to Colonel Bouquet, July 6, 1758, and American Magazine of History, June, 1758, page 460.

†Colonel Henry Bouquet, the first in command under General Forbes in the expedition against the French at the head of the Ohio in 1758, was born in Rolle, Switzerland, in 1719, and died in Pensacola, Florida, in February, 1766. His taste led him into a military life. He first entered the Dutch service and afterward that of Sardinia, and in 1748 was again

lisle, as may be seen by a letter, bearing date Lancaster, May 28, 1758, from Edward Shippen to his son, Major Joseph Shippen, at Philadelphia, in which he mentions that he was "engaged to send off at six o'clock a. m. of Tuesday morning 60 waggons to Col. Bouquet at Carlisle, which he shall be a little puzzled to do, as drivers are very scarce and saucy since the late enlistment" (Provincial History of Pennsylvania, page 123). Colonel Bouquet, with his Royal Americans, was at Raes Town June 30; the Highlanders, early in July, as was the First and Second battalions of Pennsylvanians.

General Forbes, it is to be remembered, was taken seriously ill with camp dysentery at Carlisle early in July and was rarely or never after able to ride on horseback. His movement with the army was upon a litter fastened to poles suspended at the sides of horses, one walking behind the other, as in shafts, the General's litter being placed upon the poles

in the service of Holland as lieutenant colonel of Swiss guards. He entered the English army with the same rank in 1756, and became colonel of the Sixtieth foot 19th February, 1762, and brigadier general in 1765. Secretary William Pitt, in planning the campaign of 1758 against the French in North America, assigned Bouquet's troops, the Royal Americans, then in South Carolina, as was also Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders, to place themselves under General Forbes at Philadelphia. These were the regulars upon whom General Forbes relied. They arrived at Philadelphia early in June, 1758. Bouquet was a man of courage and a soldier of ability, with the large amount of self-conceit and dogmatism so common to British officers. His devotion to duty minimized these limitations in his character as a soldier. It was chiefly through his influence that the new road from Raes Town was opened and the Braddock road ignored, though recommended by Washington, the delay in the making of which came so near defeating the purposes of the expedition under Forbes. (See the Washington-Bouquet letters.) On October 12, 1758, his forces were attacked by the French and Indians at Loyal Hannon, but the latter were repulsed. In 1763 he, with a force of 500 men, Highlanders and Provincials, made a brave and successful defense in an attempt by Indians to surprise him at Bushy run, a tributary of Turtle creek. In this engagement he lost 8 officers and 115 men. He also led an expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764. An admirable account of this expedition was published by the Rev. William Smith, of Philadelphia, in 1765.

between the horses. A detail of soldiers marched by his side to steady the General's couch. General Forbes was himself a trained and experienced soldier, of a reserved and suspicious temperament, with a strong bent toward diplomacy. He had capable officers under him, who gave their attention to all the details of equipment and to drilling the provincial forces of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina as they arrived in camp and were assigned to duty. Henry Bouquet, the second officer in command, held a British commission of colonel and had command of the Royal Americans. Colonel Archibald Montgomery, also a British officer, was in command of the regiment of Highlanders, reported 1,200 strong; but with all their zeal and ability it is probable they were at first deficient in a knowledge of the best methods of Indian fighting. Colonel Bouquet later acquired fame in this line. It is doubtless true that the General's illness limited the attention he was able to give to details and to the measures essential to the speedy and efficient equipment of the expedition. He was never able to examine personally either the Braddock road or the line proposed for the new one across the mountains, which was opened on the recommendation of Bouquet, by his order, from Raes Town to Fort Du Quesne. Any knowledge that either General Forbes or Colonel Bouquet had of the time it would require and the labor and expense of opening this road was based upon reports of limited, if not partial and hasty, examinations. The question of the merits of the two routes was much discussed in the larger towns of the provinces, in the army, by Indian traders, and by commercial men. Naturally, General Forbes had to defer much to Colonel Bouquet on the road question and the minutiæ of the details of supplies and outfits. It is inferred that Sir John St. Clair recanted his early opinions, and that Colonel Bouquet's hasty reconnoitering of the ground forced the opening of the new road. General Forbes in a letter to Colonel Bouquet, June 19, 1758, on being informed of the opening of a road from Fort Frederick, Maryland, to Fort

Cumberland, says he "regrets the change of route." He meant from the one by Raes Town and Loyal Hannon. Colonel Bouquet, with a part of his Royal Americans, a part of the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, and six companies of the Virginians, reached Raes Town on the 24th of June from Fort Littleton (see Bouquet's Orderly Book). He was then upon the ground to consider the question of roads. Smallpox appeared among the troops at Fort Loudoun in the early part of June (see Bouquet's letter to Forbes, 14 June, 1758).

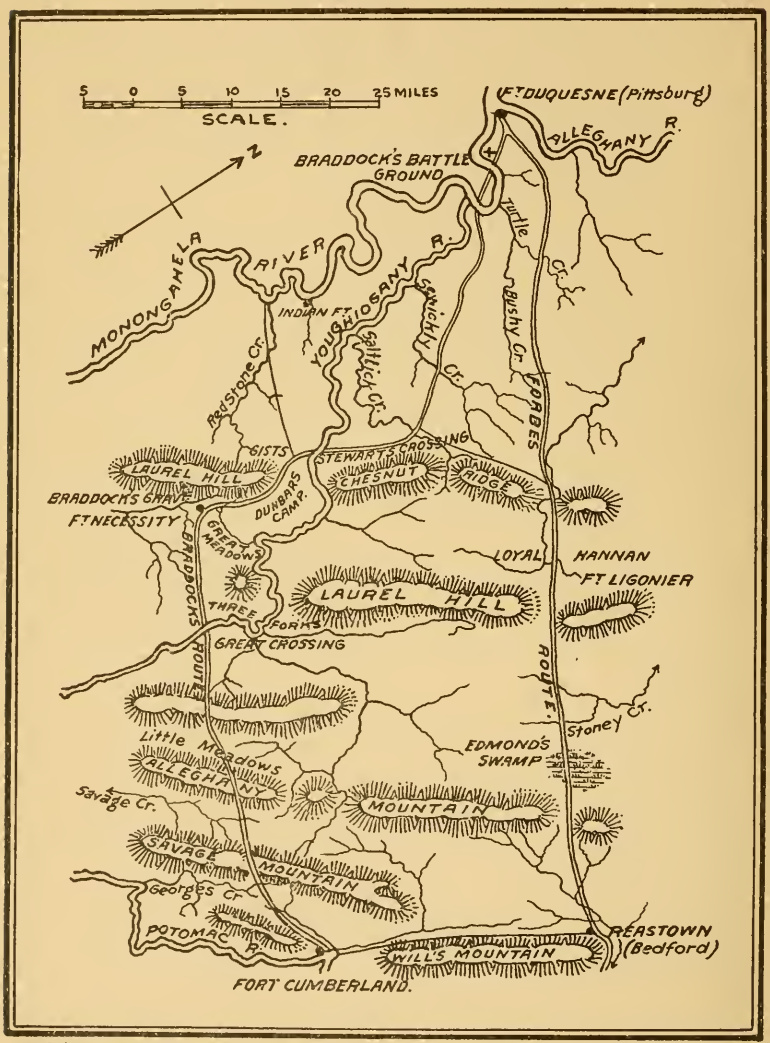
General Forbes in his letter to Bouquet of June 19, 1758, says, "I am glad you have proceeded to Raes Town, where you will be able to judge of the roads and act accordingly," and in another paragraph of the same letter he says, "I suppose you will reconnoiter the road across the Alleghany mountains from Raes Town, and if found impracticable that the Fort Cumberland garrison should open the old road forward towards the crossing of the Yohagani." A very considerable and able correspondence in relation to the merits of the routes by which the army could most advantageously and expeditiously march to the head of the Ohio was carried on between Colonel Bouquet and Colonel Washington. The latter rested his arguments in favor of the Braddock road chiefly upon the fact that the Braddock road was already made and its use would expedite the march from two to three months, and that it was but thirty miles or two days march from Raes Town. To open a new road would cost the labor of two thousand men for nearly three months, be a disagreeable employment and exhausting to the soldiers; but neither the labor nor the delay seems to have had much consideration from either General Forbes or Colonel Bouquet. A convincing reason for the opening of the new road is nowhere expressed by either. This correspondence between Bouquet and Washington may be seen in the "Writings of Washington" by Sparks.

A new road was determined upon from Bedford and work upon it authorized by General Forbes (see letter to Bouquet,

July 23, 1758), and a commencement made a few days after. On the 23d of August, 1758, Colonel James Burd, of the Pennsylvania troops, who had been in charge of the work on the road begun by the governor of Pennsylvania in 1755, was assigned to duty in supervising the opening of the Forbes road under orders from Colonel Bouquet. Numerous favorable reports were made to Colonel Bouquet by Indian traders, scouting parties, and special agents, whom he sent out, as to the character of the country to be traversed, the easy grades through openings in the mountains, and the abundance of grass and pasturage for the cattle and horses along the route. Colonel John Armstrong, who was quite familiar with the mountain regions of Pennsylvania and who was an ardent advocate for opening a new road, was, with a portion of his regiment, sent forward, pack-horses carrying their provisions, to Edmunds's swamp and Stony creek to build breastworks and to work to the east in opening the road to meet other parties working toward the west. Colonel Adam Stephen, of the Virginia troops, was also sent forward on the same duty, to work toward parties working to the west. This was done to hasten the work of opening the road. The following map is found among the Bouquet papers preserved in the British Museum, a copy of which is deposited in the Canadian archives. (See William Kingsford's History of Canada, vol. iv, page 197.)

This map was evidently made with an imperfect knowledge of the country it claims to represent. The openings in the Alleghany mountains which it shows are purely imaginary, and the great depression in the Laurel Hill mountain is largely fancy. Still it is a record of the time and the kind of information the General was supplied with and obliged to act upon. The map also shows the line of Braddock's road, the road from Fort Cumberland to Bedford, and the proposed cross-road in a northeasterly direction from the Braddock road at the crossing of Salt Lick creek, now known as Sewickly creek, to the Forbes road at a point some miles east of Greensburg, in the vicinity of Latrobe. At the crossing of

Salt Lick creek a camp and fort were projected, but the needs of the expedition never required them and the road was not opened for military purposes. The map is an interesting one and but little known. Another map of the same section



MAP SHEWING ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE FORCE UNDER BRIG. FORBES FROM BEDFORD, PA. TO FORT DUQUESNE, OHIO, 1758

of country and embracing the same military operations, but drawn with greater care and a better knowledge of the country, may be seen in Sparks's "Life and Writings of Washington," vol. 11, page 38.

Just before General Forbes arrived at Raes Town a considerable reconnoitering party was fitted out from Loyal Hannon by Colonel Bouquet to gain intelligence of the condition of the French fort and their strength at that post. A force consisting of 850 men, drawn from the different regiments then at Loyal Hannon, was placed under the command of Major Grant,* of the Highlanders, for this special

* Major Grant, afterward known as General Grant, of the British army, was born in Scotland in 1719. He entered the army as ensign in 1741, and became captain of the First Royal Scots October 24, 1744. In 1747 he was appointed by General James St. Clair ambassador to the courts of Vienna and Turin. He subsequently served in the war of the Netherlands.

In January, 1757, he was commissioned major in the new Seventy-seventh regiment, first battalion, generally known as the Archibald-Montgomery's Highlanders. These troops were ordered to America in 1757. They first landed at Halifax in August, and were then ordered, with a portion of the Royal Americans under Colonel Henry Bouquet, to South Carolina, where they arrived 29th September. It was apprehended at the time that the French were about to make an attack upon that coast. When General Forbes was given the command of the southern department and organized the expedition against Fort Du Quesne these troops were placed under his command, and they arrived at Philadelphia in the early part of June, 1758, and encamping near the new barracks, were there reviewed by General Forbes. Major Grant's forces were actively engaged under Bouquet in opening the new road from Raes Town, now Bedford, to Ligonier. He was indulged at his own request by Bouquet to be promoted to lead a strong force to reconnoiter the French fort. He became possessed with the idea that he could lead the French and Indians into an ambuscade; but he was himself surprised and defeated with the loss of more than a third of his party killed, wounded, and missing. Major Grant, Major Lewis, and eighteen other officers were taken prisoner. During the remainder of the expedition he seems to have kept very quiet. In 1760 he was made lieutenant colonel in the Fortieth foot, and shortly after was made governor of East Florida. The following year he was sent by General Amherst, with a force of 1,300 regulars, against the Cherokee Indians in South Carolina. In 1773 he was sent to Parliament. In 1775 he was appointed colonel of the Fifty-fifth foot, and in 1776 was ordered to America to reinforce General Howe. He commanded two

service. In his zeal and hoping to capture the fort with his party, Major Grant exceeded his instructions and attacked the French on the 14th of September, but was defeated with the loss of one-third of his forces, and was himself taken prisoner, as was also Captain Lewis and about 40 men. General Forbes said of this affair that "Major Grant had lost his wits."

It was chiefly through the courage and good conduct of Captain Bullet, of Virginia, that Grant's defeat was prevented from being as disastrous as that of General Braddock's in 1755.

General Forbes reached Raes Town on the 15th of September, and was promptly waited upon by all the officers apprised of his coming, among whom was Colonel Washington, who returned to Fort Cumberland for his regiment the next day, and immediately marched them to Raes Town. Colonel Washington had been stationed with the First Virginia troops awaiting orders at Fort Cumberland, where he arrived from Winchester on the 2d of July. Colonel Burd, with the Second Virginia regiment, arrived at Fort Cumberland on the 8th of July. Quite half the men of both regiments had, however, been sent forward in June and were assisting in the building of the new road; but the remainder of the Virginia troops were all brought up to Raes Town directly after General Forbes arrived there. At Fort Cumberland the Virginia officers continued the training of their men and gave attention, under orders from Colonel Bouquet, to making a road between Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, in Maryland, and between Fort Cumberland and Raes Town, and also to repairing the eastern end of the Braddock road. Indeed, it was understood in army circles that Colonel

brigades at the battle of Long Island, and a similar force at Germantown and at Brandywine. In May, 1778, he was sent to cut off Lafayette, but was unsuccessful, and in December of this year he was sent from New York to the West Indies and assisted in capturing St. Lucia. He was made a major general in 1777, lieutenant general in 1784, and general in 1796. He came into the possession of a large landed estate in Scotland, and died, without children, April 13, 1806.

Washington was to march an independent division by the Braddock road coincident with the movement of Forbes's army by the main road. This plan was advised against by Colonel Washington as unwise, to divide their forces in a country infested by the enemy. Indeed, this may never have been seriously entertained by General Forbes, or, if so, the plan was changed. Washington's Orderly Book, already referred to, opens at Raes Town September 21st. General Forbes was then there and in command and remained at this camp for some weeks, perfecting his arrangements for the march of the rear division of his army to Loyal Hannon. These troops were moved in detachments. The General began his march on the 26th of October, making his first encampment at Shawnee Cabins, eight miles from Bedford, and his second camp was at Fort Dward. Reading between the lines, it is not difficult to see that General Forbes, after a short personal acquaintance with Colonel Washington as an officer in the same camp, conceived a higher regard for his intelligence, manly deportment, soldierly qualities, and ability to manage and encourage soldiers in the discharge of their duty than he had formerly entertained. At an early period in the expedition, and particularly during the discussion of the road question, when the Virginia Colonel's opinions reached General Forbes only through others, he wrote some sharp criticisms upon Washington's views; but General Forbes, it appears, neither consulted him in person nor by letter, and only became acquainted with Washington's views through Bouquet and St. Clair.

After they met, however, there was never a word other than of confidence and admiration. The Virginia troops in their proficiency of drill were next to the regulars, and as woodsmen had no equals in the expedition. Washington was known and everywhere spoken of as the foremost military man of his time in the colonies.

There is some ground for believing that both General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet, from hearing such universal praise of Colonel Washington and his genius in military

affairs, were not only a little envious but somewhat jealous of the man, and wished to minimize his influence in the planning of the expedition to the Ohio; but all this was changed and forgotten as time went on, and each officer's opinions were better canvassed and their conduct and efficiency contrasted as the campaign came to a fortunate conclusion, which more emphatically demonstrated the weakness of the French than the genius of Forbes and Bouquet.

Colonel Washington was known to neglect no detail of outfit, supply, or executive supervision of his regiment, no requirements for the safety and efficiency of the service. General Forbes, in selecting him to command one of the three brigades, had to pass over Colonel John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, who had won renown in that province as an Indian fighter by his capture of Kittanning in 1756. He had had the ear of the General for several months, was popular also with the people, and the legislature had voted him a medal and a service of silver. This preferment for Colonel Washington caused less friction with the Pennsylvania troops than might have been expected. They, too, on a better acquaintance with Colonel Washington, soon came to admire him and his methods more than any other commander in the field.

Colonel Washington, with that portion of his regiment under his immediate command, remained in camp at Raes Town, where he was in daily intercourse with General Forbes for a month before he was ordered to Loyal Hannon, so that he did not arrive at that place until after the attack by N. de Vetri was made upon the camp and the fort with an estimated force of 1,200 French and 200 Indians. Colonel Bouquet was absent at the time at Fort Dudgeon, on Laurel Hill, viewing and opening a new road, so that Colonel James Burd was in command. He and his men acquitted themselves nobly, repelling all assaults. The enemy's forces were quite as large as that under Colonel Burd. The attack was renewed at night, but a few discharges of the cohorns silenced them. The loss to the English was reported as 62 men and 5 officers killed and missing. The French were busy all

night in carrying off their dead and wounded. This with the loss of some cattle and horses was all the injury inflicted. The engagement was an expiring effort on the part of the French, for they could no longer provision their forces or keep the Indians at Fort Du Quesne. The repulse was therefore more disheartening to the French and more important in its results to the Forbes expedition than has generally been recognized. General Forbes arrived at Loyal Hannon on the 2d of November (see Orderly Book). Colonel Washington finally received orders to march, left Raes Town on the 14th of October and arrived at Loyal Hannon on the 23d of the same month. On the 25th of October he sat as president of a court-martial at Fort Loyal Hannon for the trial of Lieutenant Laughry, of the First Battalion of Pennsylvania. This was probably the first English court, civil or military, that ever sat in western Pennsylvania or in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. The court consisted of Colonel Washington, president; Colonel Armstrong, Colonel Burd, Lieutenant Dagworthy, Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd, Major Waddall, Major Jameson; deputy judge advocate, Lieutenant Thompson.

When the court sat the season was so far advanced that the leaves were falling and the mountain tops capped with snow. When the General reached Loyal Hannon he saw for himself the character of roads across the mountains and the difficulty of bringing up supplies for men and horses, and began to despair of being able to reach Fort Du Quesne, owing to the lateness of the season and the difficulties with which he had to contend. A good stockade fort, storehouses, and a hospital had already been erected for the security of the stores and the comfort of the men. On the 11th of November General Forbes held a council of war, at which all the officers down to and including colonels were present, and the question put to each was whether it was proper and safe for the army to march farther this season. Each officer's opinion was reduced to writing. The final judgment was that it was

inexpedient, owing to the lateness and inclemency of the season, to attempt to proceed farther under the then existing conditions of the army. Two days after this determination was reached Washington was out on scouting duty, and discovering a party of the enemy, immediately attacked them, killing some and taking three prisoners, an Indian man and woman and an Englishman. The latter had been taken prisoner from Lancaster county more than a year before. The taking of these prisoners proved the turning point which won success to the Forbes expedition, for when they were taken to camp and there carefully questioned it was learned to the satisfaction of the General and all the officers that Fort du Quesne was very weak in numbers and in an indefensible condition; so that the determination of the council of war held on the 11th was by unanimous consent reversed, and General Forbes determined to proceed at once and without tents, with light baggage, and with but little artillery. This resolve greatly inspirited the army. Washington had, early in the campaign, requested to have his regiment placed among those in front, urging that he himself was familiar with the woods and his regiment was well trained to Indian fighting. General Forbes, having determined upon an advance, selected about two thousand five hundred (2,500) of the most capable men. These he formed into three divisions, placing each under a brigadier general, assigning the center to Brigadier General Montgomery, the right to Brigadier General Washington, and the left to Brigadier General Bouquet. From this time forward Washington was recognized as the commander of a brigade and was reported to as such. On the 15th of November Brigadier General Washington's command, as the advance division, set out from Fort Ligonier. His labors were great in opening roads, establishing camps, sending out scouting parties, and reporting frequently during the day and night to General Forbes. The troops, however, encountered no enemy in force after leaving Loyal Hannon.

The following is a transcript from Washington's Orderly Book:

Camp at Loyal Hannon, *November 12, 1758.*

After Orders—

1 Col., 1 Lieut., 1 Major, 5 Captains, 16 Subs., 20 Sergeants, 2 Corp., and 450 Privates. Men to march tomorrow morning at reveille beating to the ground where the skirmish was this evening and to carry a proportion of spades in order to inter the Dead bodies.

This has reference to the burial of those killed in the skirmish on the evening of the 12th.

Colonel Washington's plan for marching an army through a wooded country was, as we see, adopted in the main as the order of march from Loyal Hannon, where the forces were brigaded by the following order:

Camp at Loyal Hannon, *Nov^r. 14th 1758*

Parole Barbadoes

Field Officer for tomorrow Maj^r. Jameson

Whereas the circumstances of the times require that a Disposition be immediately made of the troops under Brigadier Gen'l Forbes Command^r. the army is to be divided into three Bodys and to be Commanded by Col. Bouquet, Montgomery and Washington who is to act as Brigadiers receiving all Reports & giving orders &c Regarding their respective divisions or Brigades the Right Wing to be Commanded by Col. Washington to Consist of the 1st Virginia Regim^t. two Companies of Artificers, N. Carolineans, Maryland^rs and Lower County

The Senter to be commanded by Col^o. Montgomerie and to Consist of the Highlanders and 2d Virginia Regiment.

The left wing to be commanded by Col. Bouquet Consisting of the three Battallions of Pennsylvanians and Royall Americans the Reserve to be commanded by —— to Consist of 200 Highlanders 200 of the 2d V. Regim^t. & 200 of the Pensilvanians in the Mean time the Virginians to be under the Command of Brigadier Washington.

The Highlanders under the Command of Brigadier Montgomerie, and the Pensilva^s. under the Command of Col^o. Bouquet the first Division to March tomorrow Morning and to draw 8 Days provisions and meat for 4 Days driving Cattle with them to Compleat them with y^e Rest

The 2d Division to March with the field Train of Artillery at one oClock with the same Q^t. of Provisions, and the third Division to be Comple^d. tomorrow with the same number of Days as the former,

The Mens Tents are to be left in Store and properly Rowld up with their Marks as likewise half the Remainder of Camp Kettles The Ammunition & 3 Spare flints are carefully to be examined and Compleated—

The falling Axes being Immediately wanted to open the Roads they

are this Afternoon to be given to Lt. Lyons at the Store who will return the Receipt—

The Commanding Officers of Corps to send to Capt. Hays such a Number of Cartridges as will only Compleat their Corps with 44 Rounds Pr. Man besides the 36 Rounds which they carry and each Corps to mark their Ammunition so that no mistake may happen in the Issuing of it. they are to send their Ammunition to Mr. Everard to the Artillery park who will Receive it and Load into Waggons immediately—

After Orders

the Mens tents to be left pitched & a proportion of each Corps to Guard them

All the Horses belonging to the King that were delivered to the Troops are to be returned tomorrow Morning and the Genl. will make a Distribution of them amongst the Troops in the proportion of 2 to 100 Men—

B. O. the Troops that March tomorrow morning are to be Compleated tonight agreeable to the Genls. orders of this day and everything in readiness to March at 8 O'Clock in the morning at farthest

The Commanding Officer of each Corps of that Division that Marches is to carry only such Men as he can most depend on, a Return of which is to be given to Majr. Stewart this night—Such of those Men as are pitched on to March tomorrow morning that are now on Guard are immediately to be Relieved by those that Stay.

Each division assisted in opening the road and marched with the greatest caution to avoid surprises, keeping out scouts and flanking parties, but they met with no organized companies of the enemy. Their advanced camp on the evening of the 24th was about ten miles from Fort Du Quesne. Here they learned from scouts that a dense smoke had been observed at the fort, and shortly after other scouts reported that the fort had been blown up and the garrison and adjacent houses burnt. A troop of light horse was sent forward to make discovery, and, if possible, extinguish the fire and save as much of the fort or buildings in the vicinity as might be practicable. The report of the abandonment of the fort by the French was confirmed. On the evening of the 25th, General Forbes, preceded by Washington's, Bouquet's, and Montgomery's brigade, arrived and took possession of Fort Du Quesne. About thirty stacks of chimneys still stood, showing where houses had been burnt. The fort had been mined and blown up. The destruction was not very complete, as powder and ammunition to the extent of some thirty

barrels remained uninjured. Men and money directed by Anglo-Saxon genius had triumphed. The territory was henceforth to be occupied and governed by an English-speaking people.

It is deserving of mention, in passing, that there were four several occasions in which Washington's life was placed in great jeopardy, all of which occurred at or near Pittsburg and each while signalizing his devotion to the reclamation of the West. The first was when Washington was deliberately shot at by a treacherous Indian when returning from Fort Le Bœuf in company with Christopher Gist. This Indian, on their return march, had joined them without solicitation, the day before they reached the Allegheny river, mentioned in his published journal. The second occurred in crossing the Allegheny river in the dusk of the evening, in midwinter, on a frail raft, when the stream was swollen and rendered additionally dangerous by floating ice. The crossing was made some three miles above the city of Pittsburg. On this perilous passage Washington was accidentally thrown from the raft into deep water, and only because he was a good swimmer and through the aid of Mr Gist was he enabled to regain his position; but the ice forced them to make for a small island in the vicinity of the present United States arsenal, where they were obliged to remain all night. From this circumstance the island (Wainwright's) is often called "Washington island." By morning the ice had frozen strong enough to bear them and they were enabled to cross on it to the left bank of the river and pursue their journey. The third was in the battle of the Monongahela, known in history as Braddock's defeat, where he had two horses shot under him and his coat pierced by four bullets. The fourth was in the skirmish with the enemy at Loyal Hannon, referred to, where he took the three prisoners whose testimony led to an advance of the army and a successful ending of the Forbes expedition. General Washington gave an account of this affair to the Honorable William Findley, of western Pennsylvania. Mr Findley wrote out his recollections of

this recital, and the article is published in Niles's Register, vol. 14. Another account of the same incident is given in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. xii. The incident occurred in this wise: The firing of Washington's troops upon the Indians on the 12th of November, when on scouting duty, was heard at camp; whereupon Colonel Mercer, by permission, marched immediately with a company of soldiers to render assistance. It was the dusk of evening, and Colonel Mercer seeing the Indian prisoners in front of Colonel Washington's force, supposed the whole party to be enemies and fired upon them. Washington, too, was at first under the impression that Colonel Mercer's party were enemies, so that several volleys were exchanged before the error was discovered or the firing could be arrested. Washington was between the forces, and, discovering the condition of affairs, ran forward, gesticulating and calling upon them to cease firing upon their friends. This Washington considered the occasion when his life had been placed in the greatest danger that he could recall. One officer and 15 or 16 of the Virginia soldiers were killed.

The French and their Indian allies, after destroying Fort Du Quesne and burning the buildings around it, fled by water, part of the force going up the Allegheny and the remainder down the Ohio. Their heavy guns were removed from the fort, and it was at first supposed they had been buried or thrown into the river, but they were, I believe, never discovered, so it is presumed that they were taken on boats down the Ohio to other French posts.

The British flag was hoisted November 25, 1758, and the placed named "Pittsburg," in honor of the great British Minister of State, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, always a staunch friend of the colonies. A palisade fort and garrison was at once constructed to shelter and protect the soldiers. A treaty of peace was concluded with such Indians as could be assembled in council. This effected, the Regular troops were sent back to the settlements to go into comfortable winter quarters, as General Forbes had no authority to gar-

rison fortifications with the Regulars. The command of the post at Pittsburg was given to Colonel Hugh Mercer, with 200 Virginians and some Pennsylvania and Maryland troops.

The presumption at the time that the territory around the head of the Ohio was within the dominion of Virginia may have determined the selection of troops for the purpose of garrisoning this post. After attending to all necessary affairs, securing as great a degree of comfort for the garrison as possible under the circumstances, and assuring as orderly a management of the post as practicable, General Forbes ordered the Regular and the Provincial troops not actually required back to Ligonier to meet their provisions (see General Forbes's letter to governor of Pennsylvania, November 26, 1758). The General himself, on his litter, commenced his weary return trip to Philadelphia December 4 (see his letter from Bouquet's camp, December 4, 1758). He rested a few days at Ligonier and a longer time at Raes Town. The Regulars and the Provincials passed through Bedford in the latter part of December. General Forbes now gave the name "Fort Ligonier" to the works at Loyal Hannon, and "Fort Bedford" to the works at Raes Town, as he had given the name "Pittsburg" to the post and camp at the head of the Ohio. He arrived at Philadelphia on the 14th of January, 1759. The citizens welcomed him by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and by manifesting in every way possible their appreciation of the success of the expedition under his command. General Forbes had asked of General Amherst a temporary leave from his command that he might devote himself to the recovery of his shattered health; but unfortunately the disease with which he was afflicted had exhausted his strength and had become incurable. He died March 10, 1759. His remains were interred in the church yard at Fifth and Arch streets, in Philadelphia. No monument marks the place of his burial. An avenue in the greater Pittsburg bears his name.

Brigadier General Washington on his return stopped a short while at Fort Ligonier and there wrote a circular letter

to the frontier inhabitants of Virginia, requesting them to send out to Pittsburg provisions to sustain that garrison. He described the scarcity of provisions for soldiers as well as of provender for horses, declared the road to be comparatively safe, and promised it should be kept open for trade, etc. (See Washington's letter of December 2, 1758.)

Colonel Washington directed the Virginia troops not assigned to duty at Pittsburg and Fort Ligonier to march to Winchester and there to rest, recruit, and await orders. He himself proceeded by a more rapid movement to Winchester and Mount Vernon. The driving of the French from the head of the Ohio had long been a favorite project with Washington, to which he had looked forward with great confidence, believing it would be accomplished by even a shorter campaign than the one so auspiciously ended.

It had been given out, and was generally understood among his friends, that upon the fulfillment of the purposes of the campaign he would retire from the army, which he did after settling all his accounts with the Government. He rested a short time at Mount Vernon and at his mother's, en route to Williamsburg, to settle the affairs of his regiment and to attend, as a member, the session of the House of Burgesses, to which he had been elected. He resigned his commission as commander of the Virginia troops on the 27th of December, 1758. The following flattering address of his officers was sent to him:

To George Washington Esq^{r}. Coll^{o}. of the Virginia Regiment & Commander of all the Virginia Forces—

The humble Address of the Officers of the Virginia Regiment.

Sir.

We, your most obedient and affectionate Officers, beg Leave to express our great Concern, at the disagreeable News we have received of your Determination to resign the Command of that Corps, in which we have under you long served.

The Happiness we have enjoyed, and the Honor we have acquired together, with the mutual Regard that has always subsisted between you and your Officers, have implanted so sensible an Affection in the Minds of us all, that we cannot be silent on this critical Occasion.

208

In our earliest Infancy you took us under your Tuition, trained us up in the Practice of that Discipline, which alone can constitute good troops, from the punctual Observance of which you never suffered the least Deviation.

Your steady adherence to impartial Justice, your quick Discernment, and invariable Regard to Merit, wisely intended to inculcate those genuine Sentiments of true Honor and Passion for Glory, from which the greatest military achievements have been derived, first heightened our natural Emulation, and our Desire to excel. How much we improved by those Regulations and your own example, with what Alacrity we have hitherto discharged our Duty, with what Cheerfulness we have encounter'd the severest Toils, especially while under your particular Directions, we submit to yourself, and flatter ourselves that we have in a great Measure answer'd your Expectations.

Judge, then, how sensibly we must be Affected with the loss of such an excellent Commander, such a sincere Friend, and so affable a Companion. How rare is it to find these amiable Qualifications blended together in one Man? How great the loss of such a Man? Adieu to that Superiority, which the Enemy have granted us over other Troops, and which even the Regulars and Provincials have done us the Honor publicly to acknowledge! Adieu to that strict Discipline and order, which you have always maintain'd! Adieu to that happy Union and Harmony, which have been our principal Cement!

It gives us additional Sorrow, when we reflect, to find our unhappy Country will receive a loss no less irreparable than ourselves. Where will it meet a Man so experienced in military Affairs? One so renowned for Patriotism, Conduct, and Courage? Who has so great a Knowledge of the Enemy we have to deal with? Who so well acquainted with their Situation & Strength? Who so much respected by the Soldiery? Who in short so able to support the military Character of Virginia?

Your approv'd love to your King and Country, and your uncommon Perseverance in promoting the Honor and true Interest of the Service, convince us that the most cogent Reasons only could induce you to quit it, yet we with the greatest Deference, presume to entreat you to suspend those Thoughts for another Year, and to lead us on to assist in the Glorious work of extirpating our Enemies, towards which so considerable Advances have been already made. In you we place the most implicit Confidence. Your Presence only will cause a steady Firmness and Vigor to actuate every Breast, despising the greatest Dangers, and thinking light of Toils and Hardships while led on by the Man we know and Love. But if we must be so unhappy as to part, if the Exigencies of your Affairs force you to abandon Us, we beg it as our last Request, that you will recommend some Person most capable to command, whose Military Knowledge, whose Honor, whose Conduct, and whose disinterested Principles, we may depend on.

Frankness, Sincerity, and a certain Openness of Soul, are the true

Characteristics of an Officer, and we flatter ourselves that you do not think us capable of saying any thing contrary to the purest Dictates of our Minds. Fully persuaded of this, we beg leave to assure you, that, as you have hitherto been the actuating Soul of the whole Corps, we shall at all times pay the most invariable Regard to your Will and Pleasure, and will always be happy to demonstrate by our Actions, with how much Respect and Esteem we are,

Sir,

Your most affectionate
& most obed^{t}. humble Servants

Fort Loudoun
Dec^{r}. 31st. 1758.

G^{o}. Weedon	Robert Stewart
Henry Russell	John M^{c}Neill
Jn^{o}. Lawson	H. Woodward
Ge^{o}. Speak	Rob^{t}. M^{c}Kenzie
W^{m}. Woodford	Tho^{s}. Bullitt
John M^{c}Cully	John Blagg
John Sallard	Natha^{l}. Gist
W. Hughes	Mord^{i}. Buckner
Walt Cunningham	W^{m}. Dangerfield
William Cocke	W^{m}. Fleming
David Kennedy	Leonard Price
Ja^{s}. Craik, *Surgeon*	Natli^{l}. Thompson
James Duncanson	Ch^{s}. Smith
Ja^{s}. Roy	

On the 6th of January, 1759, George Washington was married at the White House, on the Pamunky river, New Kent county, Virginia, to Martha Custis, *née* Dandridge, widow of John Parke Custis. This proved a fortunate and happy alliance. After attending the session of the Assembly to its close, he brought his wife to his loved home, Mount Vernon, on the Potomac.

Just before his death General Forbes conceived the idea of having a gold medal struck to commemorate the achievements of the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, to be worn by the officers who took part in the campaign of 1758. (See letter of General Grant to Colonel Bouquet, 20th of February, 1759.)

The medal is described by him as follows:

It has on one side the representation of a road cut through an immense (sic) forest, over rocks and mountains and the motto "*Per tot discrimina;*" on the other side are represented the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers, a fort in flames in the forks of the river at the approach of General Forbes, carried in a litter, followed with the army marching in columns with cannon. The motto "*Ohio Brittanica Concillo Monique.*" This is to be worn around the neck with a dark blue ribbon.

By the General's Command,

JAMES GRANT,
Lieut. in His Majesty's 62d Reg't, H. B.

N. B.—General Forbes is of the opinion that such of our officers as choose to provide themselves with the above medal should have a copy of this letter, signed and attested by you, as a warrant for their wearing it—J. G.

FORT DU QUESNE, OR NOW PITTSBURG, *the 26 Novr. 1758.*

SIR:

I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort Du quesne which they effectuated upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Hajesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious Tract of Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily met with; all that will soon come out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends, for their advantage, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make everything easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have Strength enough left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Provinces

will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair, and proper Lodging for the Officers, and that you will send me, with the greatest Dispatch, your Opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops for the ease and Convenience of the Province and the Inhabitants.

You must also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of Thirteen Hundred Men, and Four Companies of Royal Americans, are, after so long and tedious a Campaign, to be taken care of in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your Hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your Cares and good Companys, I shall yet run a good Chance of re-establishing a Health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak Abilities.

I am, Sir, with great Esteem and regard,
Your most Obedient and Hum^e^ Servant,

J^o^. Forbes.

P. S.—I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kisskaminities* near Loyal Hannon, as a thing of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Aequisition.

I send the New Levies to Carlisle, so beg you will loose no Time in sending up M^r^. Young, the Commissary, to clear them.

(Minutes Provincial Council, Pa., vol. VIII, pp. 232, 233.)

Philadelphia, *March* 15, ——.

On Sunday last died John Forbes, Esq., Brigadier General, Colonel of the 17th Regiment, and Commander of his Majesty's forces in the Southern Province of North America.

In his younger days he was bred to the profession of physic; but early ambitious of the military character, he purchased into the regiment of Scots Greys, where, by repeated purchases and faithful services, he arrived to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

His superior abilities soon recommended him to the protection of General Campbell, the Earl of Stair, Duke of Bedford, and Lord Ligonier, and other distinguished characters in the army; with whom he served as an aid-de-camp, and with the rest lived in the familiarity of a friend.

During the war he had the honour to be employed as Quarter-Master General to the army under his Royal Highness the Duke; which duty he discharged with accuracy, dignity and dispatch.

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*The name Kiskaminities was by some applied to the Loyal Hannon. Later it has been restricted to the stream between the junction of the Kiskaminities and the Allegheny river and the forks of the Loyal Hannon and the Conemaugh rivers.

His services in America are well known. By a steady pursuit of well concerted measures, he, in defiance of disease, and numberless obstructions, brought to a happy issue a most extraordinary campaign; and made his own life a willing sacrifice to what he valued more, the interest of his king and country.

As a man he was just, and without prejudices; brave without ostentation; uncommonly warm in his friendship, and yet incapable of flattery; acquainted with the world and mankind; he was well bred, but absolutely impatient of formality and affectation.

Eminently possessed of the social virtues, he indulged a cheerful gratification; but quick in his sense of honour and duty to shine alike in both characters, without the giddiness sometimes attendant on the one, or the sowrness of the other.

As an officer he was quick to discern useful men and useful measures, generally seeing both at first view, according to their real qualities; steady in his measures, but open to information and councel; in command he had dignity, without superciliousness; and tho' perfectly master of the forms, never hesitated to drop them when the spirit and more effectual parts of the service required it.

See Pennsylvania Gazette, March 15, 1759; also London Chronicle, May 12, 1759.

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